2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—to be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paalo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *okok*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *okok* are caught. The Paalo proceeded to represent an *okok* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paalo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *okok* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 233.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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769 Mr. Heasty, whom we consulted, holds that there is little difference
778 between the worship of ancestors, and that of former kings. A suppliant would visit a royal shrine if there happened to be one near, and might afterwards resort to the grave of an ancestor. If no royal shrine were near he would immediately resort to an ancestor shrine, brushing away sticks, dirt, etc., with his hands, and offer a prayer to the ancestor. When for sickness a sheep is offered at the grave of an ancestor, an ear is severed, indicating that the sheep belongs to that ancestor and is ever afterwards sacred. Such sacred animals are handed over to some aged attendant of the shrine; their milk is never mixed with the milk of other animals, but is kept for the small children and the very aged, who come to the attendant's home to drink. The animals are never sold, and for each as it gets old one of its offspring is substituted. Such prayer and sacrifice may be offered in any serious difficulty, in sickness, before a perilous journey, or when greatly perplexed in any matter.

782 Human sacrifice was always rare among the Shilluk, but it undoubtedly occurred. There is a legend, likely we think to be truthful, that the shrine at Fenikang was originally erected with human sacrifice, and the idea exists that each time this shrine is rebuilt someone will die. We have already referred to the ceremonial and fatal treading underfoot of an old man (p. 95), by the king-elect and the people, and to the ceremonial drowning of a man and
782 woman (p. 92). But besides these ceremonies more or less secret
● 789 sacrifices might take place as a last resort to obtain rain—the usual
643 prayers and offerings having failed—and for success in war.
[721] According to Hofmayr, who gives texts with literal translations,

deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water . . . and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the son. . . . It is for God . . . The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is made to God and the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as . . . [the sheep urinates]. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the sufferer, and then the meat is cooked. The meat cannot be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. . . .

"While there is no set form for the prayer . . . yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example:—

[539]

"We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to the earth and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help, God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours." (Op. cit., 284-5.)

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done by an *ajuago*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuago* —literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyat*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

Typically, though not always, the *jalyat* is a monorchid, though men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyat* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

Certain women known as *daiyat*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyat*. The magic of the *daiyat* is associated with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyat* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuap*) is associated with the *jalyat*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye —largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

"When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 150-6.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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766 *Kwanyárek* are buried in the same way as commoners. We saw an oval mound in one village surrounded by a fence, and were told that it was the grave of a *kwanyárek*. Such a fence is also built round the grave of an *ajuago*; those we saw were in the centre of the village, and it may be that this position was chosen purposely. The wives of the kings, the *kwarek*, are buried by the *orure*, inside their huts (not outside, as commoners are), which though left standing for some time are eventually pulled down. If a king's wife falls ill she will if possible return to her own village to die, and will be buried there.

764 Huts of the recently deceased are marked on each side of the door
789 with vertical stripes of white clay of about a hand's breadth, to ward off evil and the vengeance of the deceased.

LITTLE-KNOWN SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

590 Besides the Shilluk, a number of other Shilluk-speaking tribes exist in the Sudan. Little is known of any of these, though we are less ignorant of the Acholi than of the other peoples. These tribes include the following:—

The Anuak (called Bar by the Nuer) of the Sobat river, extending along the Baro and Akobo rivers into Abyssinia.

The Luo, the so-called Shilluk-speaking Jur. As stated in Chapter I, the use of the word *jur* (Dinka, "stranger") as a tribal name has caused much confusion in the identification of the minor Shilluk-speaking tribes, a confusion which has tended to obscure the ethnology of the whole south-western Sudan. We shall therefore avoid the use of this word, noting that the Luo are the remains of the "greater Luo people" referred to on page 77.

The Belanda, a composite tribe with a Shilluk-speaking section calling themselves Bor (p. 491), whose territory lies to the south and south-west of the Luo.

Westermann mentions a tribe called Bor, living south of the Bongo and east of the Belanda on the right bank of the Sueh river.[1] We cannot identify this tribe, and suspect that there has been confusion with the Bor of the Belanda complex.

The Dembo, whom Westermann places north-west of the "Jur on both sides of the Bahr Dembo".[2]

[1] Op. cit., p. [2] Loc. cit.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

*539 *ha yaw kjí wjá, ke Chjíj (Chjíly) kjaq kjaw kjaw, kí tjéj chjéj. ke wíwí kj wjr, ha tjeq chjéq, ke rjj o kwok:*

Ye kwoke kj wdjjáj, wá kjáe gkyo. Pat o rjéi jáw, Lim-dhrj chj dj wjly. Yé kjéi yí wdjj kwoke ne Nyikwi, Akolj, nan Nikiáq.

*539 The women come, all of them go to scratch the ground for seed, then they
713 come and honour the temple of the "king", they prepare the seed, and make
716 stripes on the temple with red ochre, and with black ochre, and with white ochre, and with soot. When they have finished this drawing, then they dance. After this dare is provided, a cow is brought, the cow is speared; they bring out the little drum of Nyikango, and all the Shilluks come, and the people dance, and when the night comes, they continue dancing, and (while dancing) they pray to the "king":[1]*

"I beg for some little things (food), to put into my mouth. The earth has been spoiled by the people; Lazydare[2] is travelling (on the earth). I go to our grandfather, the child of the daughter of Nyikwi, to Akolo, the children of Nyikango."

64. A Religious Ceremony.

716 *The people went, the tree (the small drum belonging to Nyikang) was beaten, they danced to the tree; and the people were beaten by the king;[3] it was a very strong drum. When it was finished, the people put the drum on the ground, then they told stories about Nyikang. After that, the people went into the house of the women (or the slaves) (of the king). The spear of Nyikang was brought out, and the people bowed their heads. A sheep was brought, it was killed; the spear of Nyikang was washed with water; the people ran to the river bank. They beat the tree vigorously, then the people came back to dance. After that they scattered. The next day they beat the tree again, the people came again to dance, and after four days they dispersed.*

65. How the Cattle is brought across the River.

622 *When the chief of a village wants to talk about the cattle, he assembles the
*189 people, and addresses them, "To people, the grass is finished now, what shall
233 we do concerning the cattle?" The people reply, "Ah, that is your business!" He says, "Well, bring the wizard!" The sorcerer comes, and a goat, a spear, and a bow are given to him. And he says, "Milk the cows!" And the cows are milked, early in the morning. Then he says, "Loosen the cattle!" They take the sorcerer's boats, and the cows come (are led) behind the sorcerer's boats. The sorcerer ties grass together, and he ties it a second time on the side of the river*

[1] the "king" is Nyikang or any other ancient king to whom the temple is dedicated.
[2] "the song of Dare", perhaps a mythical character.
[3] that is, they danced into a state of trance, being possessed by the spirit of the deceased king.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

bank. Then the milk is poured into the river, and a club is stuck into the ground in the river. The sorcerer goes into the river, and says, "Bring the cattle!" Now the sunbaeh boats are thrown into the river, and the sorcerer lies down in the middle of the river. The cattle swim (behind the boats). The sorcerer sings a song of the crocodile; the crocodiles belong to his family (to the family, the clan of the sorcerer).

When they have arrived on the other side, an enclosure is erected, and the cows are tied to their pegs. Then another sorcerer is called, and he performs his witchcraft on account of thieves (to keep off thieves). The cattle are seized, a cow-house is built, and that is all, the people settle in this place, a place with grass.

66. Preparation for War.

Lán kpé í chéŋé, ɔjwaŋŋ aŋ de dwöl, ké jíkí pín, ka e lɛŋŋ, ka chɔ́k gwöch, ka 539*
tɔ́k gwöch, ka gwí lɛŋŋ, ké chéŋé líkí. Ka tɔ́k wéle pán, ka tɔ́k chɔ́k wéle pán; ka
chéŋé twöché ɔŋ. Ka gwí e lɛŋŋ, ka kpíla jíl chéŋé; akyɛ́ ya wöl, e twɔ́ŋ bwɔ́l tɔ́k.
Nöwɔ́ wöli yí chéŋé, ka aŋ chíŋ wöli, ka tánu a aŋ wɔ́k aŋ chíŋ wöli. Ka jí chéŋé kí
díŋök. Ka tín, ka gwí kíjí: fíŋke fín. Ka ɔmaŋ́ kwöle, ka tɛ́ŋɛ́ fín, ka pɔ́ŋɔ́ kák, ka
wɔ́ŋɔ́ dyél, ka wöl kíjí wɔ́k, ka aŋ líkí kpíla jí. Ka wöch ɔmaŋ́ ka kwöle yí ɔjwɛ́ŋɛ́yí.
ka aŋ líkí fíŋ gwí kí nám yíki. [[" yɛ́ wöche ɔmaŋ́ ɔ wɔ́ŋɔ́ kwöle fíŋ gwí, ka yí kíno:
fíŋ gwí de chɔ́kíki, kwaŋ́ ɔjwɛ́ŋɛ́yɛ. [[yɛ́ wöche ɔmaŋ́ ɔ wɔ́ŋɔ́ kwa wöl líki, ye kíno:
lwí rwöl! Ka ɔjwɛ́ŋɛ́ɛ e jíkíl kíjíŋ, ka gwöl kíjí, ka líti, ka wɔ́ŋɔ́ chíŋ́kí kíŋ́, ka
ɔjwɛ́ŋɛ́yɛ kɔ́ŋɔ́, ka ɔmaŋ́ wɔ́ŋɔ́ kíjí, ka wjíŋ, ka wɔ́jɔ́ chíŋ́kí (chɔ́ŋ́kí) wɔ́ŋɔ́. Mí lɛ́ŋ́ yí
ɔjwɛ́ŋɛ́ gwí, ka e ka: díjɔ́k! Dwaí tjɛ́ŋ́ kíjíŋ! Ka tjɛ́ŋ́ kíjíŋ. Ka wöl kwöwí, ka ŋɛ́
tjíwí ní tjɛ́ŋ́. Ka e kɔ́ŋɔ́. Ka wöch ɔmaŋ́ ka ɔ kwöwí fwí. Ka pí tjɛ́ŋ́. Ké pí tjíwí
ní tjɛ́ŋ́.

When a hostile army comes near, the sorcerer is sent for, and cows are 539*
bestowed (are given to him), and when he comes, grain and spears are collected 721
(and given him). When the people come, a rope is made, and a spear is stuck 787
into the ground; the rope is fastened to its top; now the people come, and pass below the rope. The rope is above, it is tied to the point of the spear. The man who is touched by the rope (in passing below it), is placed separately. (All these do not go into the war, because they would be killed). Then the people walk (below the rope) a long time, till all have passed. Presently the sorcerer says to the people, "Sit down!" A he-goat is brought, and is thrown on the ground. It is cut up, and its head is cut off; the contents of its stomach are taken out, and are thrown among the people; the head of the he-goat is taken by the sorcerer, and thrown towards the hostile country, in the face of the assembled people. If the head of the he-goat points in the direction of the country of the

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Many things are done by the evil medicine men. He cuts off a cow's tail, and it becomes barren; but if he treats a bull in the same way, it brings disaster on the house of the owner. Any mishap that may come to him is sure to be caused by the fact that his bull was maimed. 754

He may not be able to get a person in any other way, and finally kills his dog. That causes the death of the master. He slips into a house, and cuts off a bit of the skin on which the people sleep. The people who sleep in that house all die. He watches a person as he walks and counts his steps. The person dies. He defiles food, and those eating it die that very day. If the food is given to a dog it coughs, and swells, but it does not die. He cuts a bit out of the loin cloth of a woman, and she becomes sterile.

For one special device of the evil medicine men the good medicine men have a special counter. The evil man makes a mud image of the man he expects to kill. He sticks nails in the ears of the effigy, and puts it in the fire. The man will either die or go crazy. The good medicine man makes [755] another image of the man when he comes for help, and it is put in water, and that tends to neutralize the heat on the other image.

They have the power to bewitch a herd of cattle so that all the milk is found in the udders of their own cows, or they can injure the grain in the fields. One of the evil medicine men sees the field of a certain man yielding very abundantly, and he becomes envious. He waits till the next crop has been planted, and is just coming up. He then goes to the field at night and pulls up a bit of the grain, and then throws a dead snake in the field. From that time on the field will not bear, and the owner takes a new field and leaves the old one. He may hear that a certain person is a very fast hoer. He goes at night and takes a bit of the soil from his field, and in so doing achieves a double victory. The owner of the field loses his power to hoe, and the field loses its fertility. 756 758

These men with the occult power are said to be envious of the man with a large family, and for that reason they cast many spells on little children, and they must be guarded so as not to come into the presence of such an evil man. When he spits on a child, it dies. The reason for this envy is that the man can not have a large family. He may have many children, but as a judgment for the blood on his hands most of them die in infancy. 757 762

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on [691] 752] a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a [714] hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the [724] people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done [755] by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The 756 power to cure snake bites, and to heal a bore by spitting on it are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

754 The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. ●781 He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

752 One thedicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

726 the grain rattles, and that is God talking. The gourd is kept in
756 the medicine man's house, and an outsider is not permitted to
767 approach it. A small space is mudded in front of the gourd, and
then a little court is formed in front of it, and a mat is frequently
placed in front of the gourd to give it greater privacy. When a
fight is imminent the gourd of God is brought out, and each of the
warriors casts his spoon on the ground. For spoons they use mussel
shells. When a spoon breaks it is a sign that the owner will be
killed in the fight. When a bit is chipped from the spoon it is a
sign that the owner will be wounded in the fight. When all the
people have been tested the men who are indicated as liable to
[758] death are called, and they are told to bring a heavy fee, and the
witch doctor goes through a form to avert the evil that is impending.

756 The gourd is used for other purposes as well. When a man
•759 wishes to consult the gourd of God he is conducted into the house
by the owner of the gourd, and the first thing the suppliant does
is to cast the gift for God on the ground, which belongs to the
owner of the gourd. He then kneels before the altar, and makes
known the reason for his coming. The medicine man declares that
is easy, and that it is already accomplished, and the gourd is
rattled at his back, and also in front of him, and is then passed
around his head in circles.

Recourse may also be had to the gourd of God when a man is
going on a journey. After making his approach to the gourd, and
stating his needs the medicine man takes two spoons. One which
is dirty represents the suppliant, the other which is clean represents
his enemy either known or unknown. The clean spoon is then put
in water, so that the anger of the enemy will be cooled, and his
thoughts will not be so bitter. Knotted grass is then put in the
water with the clean spoon. That is a gag which binds the mouth
of the enemy so that he can not speak against the suppliant. The
gourd is then rattled across the road on which the traveller expects
to start. The gourd is then rattled near his head, back and chest.
The man then crouches in the house looking out toward the road
on which he expects to travel. The medicine man then leaps over
him, and then turns, and leaps over him the other way, and that
is repeated. He is then advised to start on his journey, and is
assured that nothing will injure. He starts, and the witch doctor

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 PJ23 Shilluk PJ23

follows for a little distance rattling the gourd. The spoon representing the traveller remains with the medicine man, but is cut in the water.

In sickness the outcome may be foretold by the gourd. Spoons representing different people are thrown on the gourd. If the spoon for the patient rebounds, and falls on the spoon for God it is a good omen as he will recover. The same test is made to determine the outcome of a fight. If the spoon of the supplicant falls on the spoon of the enemy, it is a sign that the adversary will be overcome.

On payment of a cow a medicine man will make a small cow rope, which is to be worn on the arm. The rope is supposed to tie the hands of all enemies, by a magical bond.

The medicine man makes a little circlet of grass to put on the head of a person. It is made like the little circlet they wear when carrying a load on their heads to protect their heads. The witch doctor then spits on the circlet, and gives it to the man for whom it was made. He is told to guard it well for in case it is lost he will die, but while he has it he will always have good fortune. He sometimes pays as much as a cow for the bit of grass.

When the evil eye has been cast on a man and "his spirit has left him", the medicine man undertakes to restore his spirit. One way to do that is to take a certain kind of grass, and rub it on the chest of the patient. He then spits on his hands, and rubs the grass in his hands. The grass is then dipped in water, and the water is sprinkled on the patient. The ashes from the dung of a medicine man's cow may also be rubbed on his chest.

Unlike the evil medicine men, who work almost entirely at night, the good medicine men may work in the daylight, though even they work frequently at night, but their favourite time seems to be just before sunrise, and just after sunset. Frequently when a fight is imminent, and the men are sleeping together so as to be ready for a night attack, the medicine man will leap up and shout that power has come on him, and he insists that the people get up, and permit him to work over them.

The medicine man strives to be spectacular in his work, and often he tries to visualize the fate of his victims. For example,

14: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ21 Shallah FJ1:

having the feud brought to a close, and warned them, that they would do well to support him. He also told them, that should any man seek to renew the feud he would find great trouble. The quiet of the night was broken by the kudu horn calling the men to assemble.

In the morning Akol came to inform the king that the men had arrived. The fighting men stopped at a respectful distance. Akol called the Haisom faction to come near. He was told to call the men of his country, and he said 'it is my country' and he then called the Fajlo men, and they came near. The king greeted them, and then Akol proceeded to give them some advice. He informed them that the king had given an ox to be used in the peace ceremony. He told them that in the future they were to refrain from strife, on the road, in the fields, or wherever they might meet their neighbours. He added, "The person who will commit a murder will run his own house. If you have a disagreement bring a case before the king or the government. If hostilities from outside bring trouble against your neighbours, do not let it entangle you again."

The young men with their weapons then moved out into an open place where they could find plenty of room for the final ceremony. The men of each faction were separate, and Mr. Jackson, and the king stood between them. A great crowd of spectators had gathered. Some of them were from other villages, and some were men who from some reason or other could not appear in the ceremonies even though from the interested villages.

Akol threw some dust into the air over the animal. It signified that as chief of the district he held the land, and it was also to ensure that no accident would mar the ceremony.

A time of speech making followed. The visiting chieftains made talks of exhortation in which they emphasized the sanctity of a conference sealed with the blood of a victim. The king made a talk in which he pointed out that in colour the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed should some one break the compact, and the black was for the evil of such a course. "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the government to assist to you." He told them that Akol was to be chief, and that the other responsible men were to obey him. He informed the people that the animal was a ram of Nyikang, that it was a descendant of a ram owned by Nyikang and

14: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that its ancestors had also been owned by Dok, son of Nyikang. (That was added because the people of this district pay great honour to Dok.) The king added next seriously. "The flesh of this animal is as my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."

The other chief men spoke. The Inspector inquired whether or not they were ready to abide by the promises they were making, and both sides declared they were.

Then the king called Akol saying "take the spear". The king then took the spear to be used from the hand of his follower, who had been carrying it. The spear was held up for the people to view, and they were informed that the person, who dared to break the oath would have the spear enter his body, even as the spear would later enter the body of the sacrifice.

The next ceremony was to pull the tail of the animal. Akol pulled for the Mainam faction, but one, who would have pulled for the Fallo faction was rejected as being too young. Then one of their oldest men stepped out and pulled its tail. This act they looked upon as an oath, that the man pulling the tail were to bear the blame if the peace should be broken. Disaster would come both to the man who pulled and his family, should his faction break the agreement.

Akol then rubbed the spear on the back of the animal, and then called for some one to give it the first thrust. A number who were called to do it refused because they were too young, and they feared the responsibility, because in case the feud should be renewed the man who shed the blood would be held guilty. Every there a chance was given to the people to refuse. They said, If you do not want peace, do not let the blood be spilled." A man was found to strike the animal. He gave it a serious wound. The animal walked toward Fallo. The people declared that the animal was showing that Fallo was responsible for its death, that is Fallo had been the original transgressor in the trouble. One young man from the Mainam faction said the decision was sure to be against Fallo because the animal had been brought from Malakal with some cattle which were then in Fallo, and the wounded animal was almost sure to turn back toward them. Then men from both factions speared it, and the animal fell.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

When someone has been stunned by lightning, the proper treatment is for two men to take the patient by the heels and, with his head hanging down, to dip his head in water. He is then taken from the water, but continues to hang head downward. After he has been held in this position for some time, snails and frogs will pour out of his mouth, and he will then be restored to health. One man assured me that he had once seen the frogs and snails come from a patient. 752 821

When a person is killed by lightning he is not buried as other men. If his death occurs in a house the walls are pushed down over him, and form his grave. If he is killed out in the open, each person in the village is supposed to bring a bit of earth and throw on him, and thus the grave is formed. It is thought that anyone who refuses to do that will be struck by lightning. 766 821

The person who is killed by lightning is not mourned as other people. The ox that is killed immediately after his death is looked upon as an offering to Deñ rather than as a sacrifice for the dead. The relatives are not to weep for them as they do for those taken by disease. The thought seems to be that the man who is struck by lightning is called by Deñ, and that it is an honour to be called by Deñ, and that weeping and lamenting over such a death would be dishonouring to Deñ. Death by lightning is looked upon as bad, but not as bad as death that comes through disease. The family of the deceased is supposed to be prospered. They feel that the family has made an offering to the higher powers, and they in turn should be blessed by the higher powers for the offering they have made. [782] 781 821

When a house is struck by lightning the war cry is given. The men all run to the river with the tips of their spears pointing upward. The spears are waved in imitation of the lightning. This is done so that Deñ will hear and return to the upper regions. Then they run to the boat landing where they throw their spears on the ground. Then each man cuts a bit of green grass. He carries this grass to the fire and throws it on the blaze. Occasionally, instead of running to the river in that manner, they run to the fire with their hands raised as if in supplication, and they give the war cry as they run. 787 821

A day or two after the fire, as soon as the walls are cooled, the people assemble. If no one has been killed in the house, a sheep is killed and cooked and beer is made. After the sheep is cooked, bits are cut from 392 783 821

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PART IV.—SEQUEL.

Fertility Rites and Rain-Making.

(i) After his installation the *reth* took a day or two to recover, and we are told that about a week later, a hornless cow, the colour of a hippopotamus was sacrificed by the *reth* on the river bank. This was done to make the hippopotamus increase, and prosper the Shilluk hunters.

(ii) There was a slight hitch over the rain-making ceremony, which we are informed by Mr. L. W. A. Raven, takes place in the early rains each year. The *reth* is said to slaughter a bull the colour of the rain clouds. We asked the *reth* about this, and he said "Oh, it has been done at Fanyikang already by the chief of Kwa Nyikang." Resulting from this departure from custom, after only light showers, one on the last day of the installation, the rains were late, and by the end of June the *reth* was worried. The sequel is interesting. An old woman of Lemmo section dreamed of the departed *reth*. This showed that his spirit had not been laid to rest properly, and had not the Funeral Dance been cut short by two days? So another and smaller funeral dance of two days duration was held on the 2nd and 3rd. July, at the same village of Pareth Faliti. A few days later it started to pour with rain, and continued, so that it was for the Shilluk a year of plenty.

POSTSCRIPT

(W.P.G.T.)

On 6th. April I visited Fashoda on business. Three days previously the *reth* had told me in a matter of fact way that he was going to finish off the party from Akurwa, and give them their dues, and then "they could do as they pleased, but he, the *reth*, was finished with them." Their dues were 20 head of cattle. By the 6th. I fancied this would all be over, however as I approached I met about six men carrying hides and about ten women carrying household utensils

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 God is considered as being far off, aloof from mankind, caring nothing for the things He has created. Men do not [782] then approach Him directly, nor, at least on great public occasions, presume to offer sacrifice to Him. Approach to God can only be made through the great mediator, Nyikang. It is Nyikang who, though he led his people into and left them in so sorry a plight, is reverenced as the Father and Saviour of the Shilluk people, is worshipped as a demi- [775] god, and is thought of as always dwelling among them in [782] the person of the reigning king. To him are all prayers made and sacrifices offered; in his honour sacred dances are [778] performed. His numerous shrines, located in different parts of the country in which his spirit is believed to dwell, are [793] carefully tended by the Bang Reth, to whom fall the perquisites of the meat of the sacrifices and the tributes of grain willingly surrendered from a meagre harvest in the sacred name of Nyikang.

776 The king, as the personification, as it were, of Nyikang 643 on earth, will offer the principal sacrifices on important 782 occasions during the year, for example, to obtain a plentiful [789] rainfall and a bumper harvest, for the averting of the plague [781] of weaver birds which descend on the country in their millions each year and devour the ripening grain, in times of drought and flood, of epidemic among the people and plague which is carrying off the cattle. On these and similar occasions is Nyikang invoked and sacrifice offered to him by [634] the king himself and the district chiefs, and yet it is clearly understood by all that it is not Nyikang himself who will bestow the benefit or avert the disaster, but God, moved to clemency by the intercession of Nyikang for his people. And so the second and last article of the Shilluk Creed would run 'and in Nyikang, Son of God, Father of the Shilluk people, and our only intercessor with God for us'.

775 Alongside the cult of Nyikang, there is also a cult of the 769 dead. The Shilluk have only a vague notion of life after death in the Christian sense. They do, indeed, speak of the *Fo Jwok*, God's country, which is the abode of Nyikang and their ancestors, and which is reached only after months of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about 18*s*.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however, could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the missing money and to be held in custody until he did so. This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box, since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed. Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his companion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a bull, it is not usually slain outright, but wounded by a spear thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left but simply crumple up and fall forward with forelegs doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disaster. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by